



## The Central Cordilleran Subgroup of Philippine Languages

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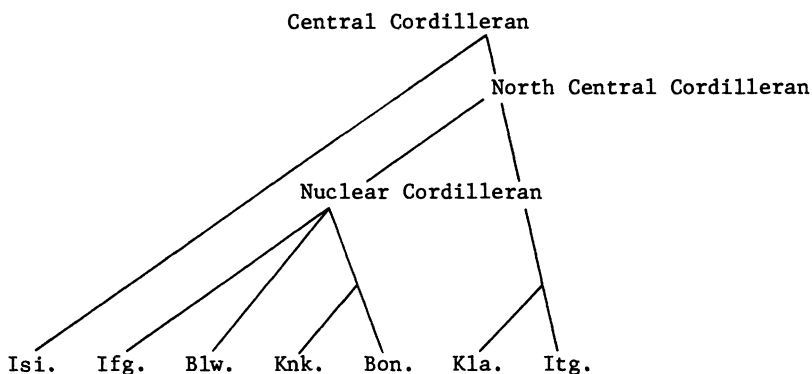
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*THE CENTRAL CORDILLERAN SUBGROUP  
OF PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES<sup>1</sup>*

1. INTRODUCTION. The term CENTRAL CORDILLERAN (CC)<sup>2</sup> is here applied to a group of languages spoken mostly in the mountains of Northern Luzon, Philippines. These languages are Kalinga (spoken in the province of Kalinga-Apayao), Itneg (spoken in Abra), Bontok (spoken in Mountain Province), Kankanay (spoken in the west of Mountain Province and in Benguet), Balangaw (spoken in the east of Mountain Province), and Ifugao (spoken in the province of the same name). The group also includes one language spoken in Nueva Vizcaya--Isinai.<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of various kinds of evidence, to be presented in this paper, it seems probable that these languages all descend from a single parent language, here labeled PROTO CENTRAL CORDILLERAN (PCC). The group shows various degrees of internal cohesion, which may be displayed as in the figure below.

Isinai shows the longest period of independent development, in that it does not share in a number of innovations which appear to be shared exclusively by the other languages, which may be labeled NORTH CENTRAL CORDILLERAN (NCC). Within the latter group, Itneg and Kalinga, and Bontok and



*The internal relations of the Central Cordilleran Subgroup*

Kankanay form subgroups probably differentiating relatively recently. Bontok-Kankanay, Balangaw and Ifugao form a subgroup here labeled NUCLEAR CORDILLERAN (NC).

The external relations of the Igorot languages are with the surrounding languages of Northern Luzon, including Ilokano, Isneg, Agta, Atta, Ibanag and Gaddang; and to the south, the group which includes Kallahan, Inibaloi, Karaw and Pangasinan. Although the CC languages share a number of features with the latter group,<sup>4</sup> other evidence tends to point to a closer relationship with the Ilokano group. Further studies need to be conducted to clarify the situation.

Various lexicostatistic studies have pointed to a subgrouping similar to that postulated here. Thomas and Healey's study (1962) showed Ifugao, Kankanay, Bontok and Sagada (=Northern Kankanay) as forming a subgroup, but Kalinga and Tingguian (=Itneg) were grouped with Ilokano, Isneg and other languages to the north of them.<sup>5</sup> Dyen (1965) delineated an Ifugao subfamily, consisting of the languages spoken in the various Ifugao areas of Kiangnan, Mayaoyao, and Hanglulu; an Igorot subfamily consisting of Kankanay, Sagada, Bontok and Bayyu (a town in the south of the Bontok region); and a Kalinga subfamily, consisting of Balbalasang and Pinukpuk, languages spoken in these Kalinga towns. He grouped these three subgroups coordinately with Isinai, Ilokano, and a



Some dialects of Ifugao (as Gohang) have the following general rule (Newell 1956):

$$\begin{bmatrix} b \\ d \\ g \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} pf \\ tʃ \\ k \end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad \_V$$

In some dialects of Bontok (e.g., Mainit), as well as in Kalinga and Ifugao the syllable initial variants optionally occur also in word final position. Various other shifts have occurred in some dialects, e.g., palatalization of syllable initial variants preceding /a/ in Barlig, a town of Eastern Bontok (/b/ also has a variant [pʲ] preceding /a/ in Guinaang, a town of Kalinga), and retention of voicing in all syllable initial variants, e.g., Mainit [v] and [dz] are variants of /b/ and /d/ respectively. Mainit /g/ occurs as [g] in all positions.

The syllable initial fricative variants do not occur in Isinai, neither do they occur in Kankanay nor the Inlaod (western) dialect of Itneg. They do occur in the Masadiit dialect of Itneg spoken in the Bucloc valley and in the towns of Tiempo and Tubo. It is assumed that Kankanay and Inlaod Itneg lost the variants as a result of the considerable influence of Ilokano upon them, an influence noted in many other areas of the languages besides phonology. Kankanay and Itneg occur geographically between Ilokano and the other languages they are genetically most closely related to, Bontok and Kalinga respectively. It is possible that Isinai has also been influenced in the same manner.

In Inibaloi the fronted voiceless velar /k̟/ and the palatal affricate /c/, although underlying phonemes, only occur in syllable initial position, as in the NCC languages. There is evidence that the rule was borrowed into Inibaloi, and probably was not present in the parent language of that group.

One other consonant phoneme, \*1, probably also had variant realizations in PCC. In Reid (1972), the reflexes of \*1 for Kankanay, Bontok, Balangaw, Kalinga and Ifugao are discussed in some detail. It is not necessary to repeat the details here. Suffice to say that not only in the CC languages but also in

languages from Batanes in the far north of the Philippines to the Manobo languages in the south, the reconstructed lateral shows variant reflexes determined by the same conditioning factor, i.e., by proximity to a front vowel, usually *i*. Other environmental factors, such as position in relation to other alveolar consonants, or to word boundaries, and identity of surrounding vowels, are also present in many languages.

The PCC phonemic system developed from Proto-Austronesian in the following way:

*Consonants.*

PAN \*p, \*t, \*k, \*b, \*d, \*g, \*m, \*n, \*ŋ, \*l, \*s, \*w, and \*y are reflected as the same sounds in all environments in PCC. Note the following evidence (PAN forms are given to the left, PCC to the right of the symbol):<sup>6</sup>

\*pitu° > \*pitú 'seven', \*qatep > qatíp 'roof',  
\*x<sub>2</sub>epat[] > \*qípát 'four', \*tanem > \*taním  
'plant',  
\*takut > tákut 'fear', \*kaRi > \*kalí 'speak,  
language',  
\*siku > \*síku 'elbow', \*manuk > \*manúk 'chicken',  
\*bayu° > \*báyú 'pound', \*babuy > \*bábúy 'pig',  
\*dilaq > \*díla 'tongue', \*tuduq > \*tudú 'point  
out',  
\*qañud > \*qánud 'flow', \*lima° > \*limá 'five',  
\*x<sub>3</sub>enem > \*qíním 'six', \*ŋ+ipen > \*ŋípín 'tooth',  
\*baŋa° > \*báŋa 'pot', \*qutaŋ > \*qútaŋ 'debt',  
\*gatel > \*gatíl 'itch', \*siji > \*sígí 'sift',  
\*qasin > \*qasín 'salt', \*w<sub>2</sub>alu° > \*wálú 'eight',  
\*wasay > \*wásay 'axe', \*lawi° > \*lawí 'rooster's  
tail feathers'.

All reconstructed PAN laryngeals, \*X, \*x, \*W, \*q, \*ʔ, \*Q, \*h, \*H, \*S, as well as initial hiatus, and zero are reflected as glottal stop (\*q) word initially and as zero word finally.

*Evidence:*

\*halqu > \*qalqu 'pestle', \*x<sub>1</sub>lapuy > \*qáppúy 'fire',  
\*Wasu[] > \*qásu 'dog', \*ʔenem[] > \*qíním 'six',  
\*S<sub>6</sub>iRup > \*qígup 'sip', \*DaR<sub>1</sub>aQ<sub>2</sub> > \*dála 'blood',  
\*panaq > pána 'bow and arrow', \*tebuSu > \*tubú  
'sugarcane'.

Medially the laryngeals became \*q, except between a preceding high front or a high back vowel and a following non-identical vowel, when they became respectively \*y and \*w.

*Evidence:*

\*ba-beHi[] > \*ba-baqi 'woman', \*buSek[] (>Proto-Philippine \*buhuk) > \*buqúk, \*Suab > \*quwáb 'yawn', \*qu°ey > \*quwéy 'rattan', \*zaqit > \*dáqit 'sew'.

PAN \*j > \*g.

*Evidence:*

\*maja° > \*mag-qán 'dry', \*pusej > \*pús+g 'navel'.  
(But note \*ŋ+ajan > \*ŋádan 'name'.)

PAN \*r and \*R are both reflected as PCC \*l.<sup>7</sup>

*Evidence:*

\*raprap > \*láp lap 'skin, flay, strip off', \*ribu > \*libu 'thousand', \*°azar > \*qádal 'teach',<sup>8</sup>  
\*sarsar > \*sálsal 'beat an object repeatedly',  
\*Rabi°i° > \*labi 'night, evening', \*Rzakit >  
\*lakit 'raft', \*taRluq > \*tálu 'put away, hide',  
\*DapuR > \*dapúl 'ashes'.

PAN \*ñ > PCC \*n.

*Evidence:*

\*ña > \*na '3rd person singular Genitive pronoun',  
\*ñi°uR > \*niyúg<sup>7</sup> 'coconut'.

PAN \*c > PCC \*s.

*Evidence:*

\*caremin > sálmin 'glass, mirror', \*cek[e]l >  
\*sikil 'strangle', \*cuka° > \*súka 'vinegar', \*guci  
> \*gusi 'kind of jar'.

PAN \*C > PCC \*t.

*Evidence:*

\*Caqi > \*táqi 'feces', \*CumaS<sub>2</sub> > \*túma 'louse',  
\*maCa > \*matá 'eye'.

# Vowels

PAN \*i, \*a, \*u, \*e are reflected respectively as PCC \*i, \*a, \*u, \*ɨ. The latter vowel was a mid to high central vowel, and is reflected as such in Bontok, Kankanay, Itneg, and in some environments in Balangaw. Adequate evidence is given in the forms cited above.

PAN \*-ey and \*-ay, became PCC \*-ɨy.

## Evidence:

\*maCey > \*matɨy 'die', \*pajey > \*págɨy 'rice plant', \*qu<sup>o</sup>ey > \*quwɨy 'rattan'; \*tɨytɨy 'step, path' > \*tɨytɨy 'ladder', \*tapay > \*tápɨy 'yeast, rice beer', \*balay > \*balɨy 'house', \*kiDay > \*kíɨy 'eyebrow'.

In addition to the Bontok-Kankanay subgroup, Isinai, Kalinga, and Batad Ifugao (IfgBt) retain evidence of the reflex, \*-ɨy. In these languages, PAN \*e is regularly reflected as o, and the sequence \*-ey is reflected as -oy (IfgBt. sometimes shows -uy from \*ɨy). PCC \*matɨy > Isi., Kla, IfgBt. *matóy* 'die'; PCC \*págɨy > Isi. *páxoy*, Kla. *págoy*, IfgBt. *páguy* 'rice'; PCC \*tɨytɨy > Isi. *toytoy* 'ladder'; PCC \*balɨy > Isi. *béoy*, Kla. *boloy*, IfgBt. *baluy* 'house'; PCC \*quwɨy > Isi. *wéoy*, Kla. *qiwoy*, IfgBt. *quwoy* 'rattan'.

The evidence is complicated by a considerable number of forms showing apparent -ay reflexes in each of the languages where the expected reflex is either -ɨy or -oy, e.g., PAN \*sakay > Bon. *sakay* 'mount', \*laNtay 'floor covering' > Bon. *lantay* 'bridge', \*wasay > Bon., Isi. *wásay* 'axe'. With such forms it is necessary to assume that they were either borrowed into PCC from a language such as Ilokano (in which \*-ay and \*-ey > -ay) after the \*-ay > -ɨy rule ceased to operate, but before Isinai diverged from the parent group, or else they were independently borrowed, not only into Bontok and Isinai, but also into each of the other branches of the CC group, since such forms occur also in most of the other CC languages.

PAN \*-ew and \*-aw became PCC \*-ɨw.



*Evidence:*

PAN \*buR<sub>3</sub>ew > \*b<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>w 'chase away'<sup>9</sup>, \*kayaw > \*káy<sub>1</sub>w 'head hunting', \*pakaw > pák<sub>1</sub>w 'handle', \*p<sub>1</sub>ntaw > \*pánt<sub>1</sub>w 'overlook (house)', \*silaw > \*sil<sub>1</sub>w 'torch'.<sup>10</sup>

As with the -y final diphthongs, so with the -w finals, there are a considerable number of forms reconstructable for PCC where the vowel is *a* not *i*. Such forms include \*puláw 'white', \*dáyaw 'honor', \*báŋkaw 'spear', \*sáyaw 'dance', \*kálaw 'hornbill'. These forms must probably be also considered as early borrowings into PCC, or subsequent independent borrowings into the daughter languages.

*Loss of syllable final \*-q*

Although in Kalinga, Balangaw and Ifugao, *q* occurs in syllable final position, it appears to be in every instance a reflex of \**k*. *q* as a reflex of \**q* does not occur syllable finally in these languages. (The Isinai situation will be discussed below.) It is probable then that a phonotactic restriction on the syllable final occurrence of \**q* existed in PCC. The evidence suggests that word bases that came into PCC with a medial \*-qC- cluster were metathesized, whereas word final glottal stops were lost. Balangaw, Bontok and Kankanay generally show a -Cq- correspondence to a -qC- sequence in languages not in the CC subgroup. Ifugao generally reflects Ø for \**q*, whether in a consonant cluster or between vowels.

*Evidence:*

\*sapq<sub>1</sub>y > Bon., Knk. sapq<sub>1</sub>y, Ifg. hape 'dry in the sun' (but note Ibl. saqp<sub>1</sub>y, Kln. haqp<sub>1</sub>y), \*babqa > Bon., Knk. babqa, Blw. bubqa, Ifg. buba 'tooth' (but note Ilt. b<sub>1</sub>qba), \*gugqu > Bon. gugqu, Ifg. gugu 'scratch' (but note Ilt. guqqu, Kln. guqquq), \*d<sub>1</sub>tqal > Bon., Knk. d<sub>1</sub>tqal, Blw. d<sub>1</sub>tqal, Ifg. dotal 'floor' (but note Ilt. d<sub>1</sub>qtay, Ivt. raqtay), \*na-magqan-an > Bon. namagqanan, Ifg. namaganan 'dry', \*gabqun > Bon. gabqun, Ifg. gabqun ~ gabun 'cover'.

The evidence for Itneg and Kalinga is not clear from the available data, but they also seem to retain the consonant-glottal stop sequence, as do Bontok, Kankanay and Balangaw, e.g., Kla. qalqo

'pestle', *tuŋqaɭ* 'bone'. Balangaw shows some forms where the postconsonantal glottal stop has been lost, e.g., *qalo* 'pestle', *toŋaɭ* 'bone'. These forms may be borrowings from Ifugao.

Bontok and Kankanay have a metathesis rule synchronically operating in which clusters of *-qC-* formed by vowel syncope become *-Cq-*, e.g., Bon., Knk. *qi-* + *qisik* → *qisqik* 'to plant (associative focus)', Bon. *na-* + *qibil* → *nabqil* 'wet'. The rule was probably formerly operative in Balangaw, but appears only in relatively few forms. It was, moreover, generalized to include sequences with either glottal stop or fricative (Blw. *h* < \*s), e.g., Blw. *qi-* + *hagip* → *qighip* 'bring in' (cf. Bon. *qisgip*), *palhad* + *-in* → *palhdhan* 'allow, accept', *qo-* + *qopat* > *qopqat* 'four each', *qi-* + *qinim* > *qinqim* 'six each'. The fact that these (at least the latter two) are relic forms is supported by the restructuring which has occurred in some forms where glottal metathesis has taken place, e.g., Blw. *nagqah* 'to fall', although from an earlier *\*na-* + *\*qigah* is now interpreted as *na-* + *qigqah*, the root form with glottal stop occurring in other constructions. Moreover *-qC-* clusters occur in Balangaw in forms in which *q* reflects an earlier *\*k*, e.g., *ma-* + *loqon* → *maqlon*<sup>11</sup>, *loqon* + *-on* → *loqnon* 'dry up, wilt'.

Ifugao may also have participated in a *-qC-* metathesis rule, but since *\*q* became  $\emptyset$  in Ifugao there is no internal evidence to prove its former existence in the derived forms in this language. Seeing there is no evidence to support a closer relationship between Balangaw and the Bontok-Kankanay subgroup than between Ifugao and these languages, it is more satisfying to assume that the metathesis rule operated in Proto Nuclear Cordilleran, the parent language of Balangaw, Bontok-Kankanay and Ifugao, and it was subsequently lost in Ifugao.

Kalinga and Itneg appear to avoid clusters of the *-qC-* type (where *q* < *\*q*) by eliminating the vowel syncope rule in just these environments. Thus Itg. *qi-* + *qinib* → *qiyinib* 'to close a door' (cf. Bon. *qinqib*), *ma-* + *qilid* → *maqilid* 'to sink', Kla. *na-* + *qobol* → *naqobol* 'wet' (cf. Bon. *nabqil*), *qi-* + *qosoq* → *qiyosoq* 'plant' (cf. Bon. *qisqik*).

Isinai, like many of the other CC languages reflects \*k as *q*, so that synchronically, glottal stop now frequently appears at the end of a syllable, e.g., CC \*sakgud > Isi. *saqgud* 'horn'. However there is now evidence to suggest that at the time when Isinai diverged from PCC it did not participate in the morpheme structure restriction on syllable final glottal stop discussed above. Although some forms exist which, as in Ifugao, have lost original glottal stop, e.g., Isi. *bava* 'tooth' (< PCC \*babqa), *guxu* 'scratch' (< PCC \*gugqu), and thus do not provide evidence for the \*-Cq- sequence in PCC, there are several Isinai forms which do reflect such a sequence, e.g., \*qalqu > Isi. *qequ* 'pestle' (PCC \*a1 regularly becomes Isi. *e*), \*banqig > Isi. *manqox*<sup>12</sup> 'small', \*sagqin > Isi. *saxqon* 'near', \*tagqi'y > Isi. *qa-taxqoy* 'up'.

Isinai, like Kalinga and Itneg, does not show evidence for having once had a metathesis rule to invert derived glottal stop-consonant clusters. Whereas Kalinga and Itneg avoided such clusters through loss of a vowel syncope rule, Isinai has retained the syncope rule and tolerates the derived clusters with initial glottal stop, e.g., Isi. *qi- + qonob* → *qiqnob* 'close a door' (cf. Bon. *qinqib*, Kla. *qiyonob*), Isi. *na- + qomot* → *naqmot* 'bathed' (cf. Bon. *namqis*).

It appears then that although it is possible to postulate a morpheme structure rule for PCC which resulted in the metathesis of glottal stop-consonant clusters in roots, it is not possible to postulate a metathesis rule for derived glottal stop-consonant clusters (such as those resulting from vowel syncope) until Proto Nuclear Cordilleran developed.

3. PRONOUNS. PCC had three distinct sets of pronouns: long form Nominatives, short form Nominatives and Genitives. The Oblique pronouns are a combination of the personal Oblique case marker plus the long form Nominative pronouns. As can be seen by the preceding statement, the term Nominative when applied to the long form pronouns specifies only one of several functions which the set had. These included:

- a. Subject of non-actor focus sentences,  
 e.g., Bon. *binanun nan laláki sakqin*  
           Blw. *binanon hen laláqe haqin*  
           Kla. *binanon din laláqi sakon*  
                   woke                  man          me  
           'The man woke me up.'
- b. Topicalized Subject or agent. (Similar examples  
 could be provided from each of the CC languages.)  
 e.g., Bon. *sakqin, qinmíyak.*  
                   I                  went-I  
           'As for me, I went.'  
                   *sakqin, binanun nan laláki*  
                   me                  woke          man  
           'As for me, the man woke me up.'  
                   *sakqin, binanunku siya*  
                   me                  woke-I          him  
           'As for me, I woke him up.'
- c. Predicate of an equational sentence type.  
 e.g., Bon. *sakqin nan namanun qan siya*  
                   I          the          woke          him  
           'I was the one who woke him up.'

Chart I lists the reconstructed long form Nominative pronouns with their reflexes in the daughter languages.

The variation that is evident in a number of the reconstructed forms is the result of the reduction of the \*\*daqí- case formative which was present in pre-Central Cordilleran. This formative is still present in Bontok on the *daqita* '1+2 s.' and *daqida* '3 p.' pronouns although in variation with reduced forms *data* and *dida* respectively. The pre-CC forms \*\*daqikami, \*\*daqikayu, and \*\*daqitaku have all been reduced, to three syllables in PCC and presently in several of the daughter languages, and in the case of the '1 p.' and '2 p.' forms, to two syllables by loss of the medial vowel in Isinai, Balangaw and Ifugao.

The 1+2 p. pronominal formative \*-taku was an innovation in PCC, the expected form being either \*-tam or \*-tayu (based on evidence from the Northern and Southern Cordilleran languages). The presence of a reflex *ditaqu* in Isinai is confirmatory evidence that Isinai belongs to the CC subgroup.

	PCC	Isi.	Itg.	Kla. <sup>13</sup>	Bon., Knk.	Blw.	Ifg.
1 s.	*siyak+n~ *sakq+n	taqon	diyak+n	sákon	sakq+n	haq^n	haqqin
2 s.	*siqika~ *sikqa	siqa	dika	síka	sikqa	héqa	heqqa
1+2 s.	*daqita~ *dita~ *data	díta	dita	dita	daqita~ data	dita	dita
3 s.	*siya	siya	siya	siya	siya	hiy^	hiya
1 p.	*dakami~ *dikami	daqmi	dikami	dikami	dakami	d+qni	daqmi
2 p.	*dakayu~ *dikayu	daqyu	dikayu	dikayu	dakayu	d+qyu	daqyu
1+2 p.	*dataku~ *ditaku	ditaqu	ditayu	ditako	dataku	ditaaw	dituqu
3 p.	*daqida~ *dida	díra	dayda	dida	daqida~ dida	did^	dida

CHART I. Long form Nominative pronouns

The presence of *ditayu* in Itneg would tend to provide counter-evidence to the claim made in this paper that Itneg subgroups with Kalinga rather than with Ilokano. Itneg however has had a long history of contact with Ilokano and shows a considerable amount of borrowing from that language. I assume that Itg. *tayu* is a borrowing from Ilokano. Note that the formative *di-* on Itg. *ditayu* is not found in the Ilokano pronominal system, but is the reduced form of *\*daq̃i-*, which Kalinga consistently uses. It appears that the parent language of Kalinga and Itneg consistently used the PCC *\*di-* pronominal variants for 1+2 s., 1 p., 2 p. and 1+2 p. Itneg has also extended the use of the *di* formative to replace initial *\*si-* in the 1 s. variant *\*siyak̃n*, as well as the 2 s. variant *\*siqika*, producing the innovations Itg. *diyak̃n* '1 s.' and *dika* '2 s.'

Chart II lists the reconstructed short form Nominative pronouns with their reflexes in the daughter languages. In PCC the short form Nominative pronouns (all of which were enclitics to the Predicate) functioned as follows:

- a. Subject of actor focus sentences.  
 e.g., Bon. *q̃inm̃i-yak* 'I went.'  
                   went -I
- b. Subject of non-verbal sentences.  
 e.g., Bon. *lalaki-yak* 'I am a man.'  
                   man -I  
               *wadq̃ay-ak si na* 'I am here.'  
               there is-I here  
               *qanqandu-wak* 'I am tall.'  
                   tall -I

Itneg is the only language which has replaced an inherited form with a borrowing, Itg. *tayu* '1+2 p.' is, as discussed above, a probable borrowing from Ilokano.

Chart III lists the reconstructed Genitive clitic pronouns with their reflexes in the daughter languages. As in other Austronesian languages, they function as agent in non-actor focus sentences, and as possessor in possessive phrases. All the daughter languages reflect full and reduced forms for the first and second person singular pronouns. The full

	PCC	Isi.	Itg.	Kla.	Bon., Knk	Blw.	Ifg.
1 s.	*-ak	-aq, -q	-ak	-ak	-ak	-aq	-aq
2 s.	*-ka	-qa	-ka	-ka	-ka	-qa	-qa
1+2 s.	*-ta	-ta	-ta	-ta	-ta	-ta	-ta
3 s.	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
1 p.	*-kami	qami	-kami	-kamí	-kami	-qani	-qami
2 p.	*-kayu	qayu	-kayu	-kayú	-kayu	-qayu	-qayu
1+2 p.	*-taku	taqu	-tayu	-takó	-taku	-taaw	-tuqu
3 p.	*-da	-da, -ra	-da	-da	-da	-da	-da

CHART II. Short form Nominative pronouns

	PCC	Isi.	Itg.	Kla.	Bon., Knk.	Blw.	Ifg.
1 s.	*-ku, *-k	-qu, -q	-ku, -k	-ko, -k	-ku, -k	-qo, -q	-qu, -q
2 s.	*-mu, *-m	-mu, -m	-nu, -m	-no, -m	-mu, -m	-no, -m	-mu, -m
1+2 s.	*-ta	-ta	-ta	-ta	-ta	-ta	-ta
3 s.	*-na	-na	-na	-na	-na	-na	-na
1 p.	*-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	-mi	-ni	-mi
2 p.	*-yu	-yu	-yu	-yu	-yu	-yu	-yu
1+2 p.	*-taku	-taqu	-tayu	-tako	-taku	-taaw~ -taqaw	-tuqu
3 p.	*-da	-da, -ra	-da	-da	-da	-dʌ	-da

CHART III. Genitive pronouns



forms occur as clitics on consonant-final words, the reduced forms occur as clitics on vowel final words, e.g., Bon. *qábuŋ-ku* 'my house', *qásu-k* 'my dog'.

It should be noted that Itneg, Kalinga and Balangaw have *n*- initial full forms for the second person singular genitive pronoun. That these forms are a secondary development in these languages is suggested by the fact that the reduced form of the pronoun remains *-m* and is not *-n*. What then was the reason for the change from *\*-mu* to *-nu*? A possible explanation appears when the conditional morpheme 'if' is considered. Many of the languages of the Northern Philippines show reflexes of *\*nu* 'if'. However Central Cordilleran languages generally reflect a PCC *\*mu* 'if' (Isi. *mo*, Bon. *mu*, Knk. *mu*, Ifg. (Amganad) *mu qon*, Ifg. (Bayninan) *muqun*). In just those CC languages which have *nu* for the 2 s. Genitive pronoun (Kalinga, Itneg and Balangaw), the conditional marker is also *nu* and not the expected *mu*. It is possible that these three languages replaced the innovated *mu* 'if' with borrowed *nu* (probably from Ilokano), this change stimulating an analogous change in the homophonous 2 s. pronoun.

Balangaw has analogized further, changing *-mi* to *ni* so that all nasal initial Genitive pronouns begin with *n* (Blw. *no* '2 s.', *na* '3 s.', and *ni* '1 p.'). The 1 p. form was then extrapolated to the Nominative series, producing Blw. *qani* and *dīqni*.

4. CASE MARKING PARTICLES. Reconstructing the case marking system of PCC is a difficult task, because of the large number of changes that have taken place, both in the functions of the markers as well as in their forms, and because for some languages full information is not available about the systems. On the basis of what is known of the CC languages and other Philippine languages, it is necessary to postulate at least Nominative, Genitive and Oblique case marking sets, in addition to Time and Locative markers. Within the sets it is necessary to postulate distinctions correlatable with the semantic features of the following substantive. At least the following distinctions are relevant for PCC: singular versus plural, personal versus common, and specific versus nonspecific. Various other distinctions

are made within the daughter languages but do not appear to be reconstructable for the parent language.

Chart IV provides the data upon which the reconstructions are based. Itneg data will be presented separately. The reconstructed system appears in Chart V. Where insufficient data exist, as for the plural, common Oblique marker, no reconstruction is attempted.

4.1 *Genitive markers.* All of the CC languages precede a substantive possessor, and the agent of the so-called passive constructions, by a set of markers which is characterized by the use of an enclitic *-n* on vowel final preceding stems. A form *\*(-n)* is therefore reconstructed. This form in the daughter languages co-occurs with one of several other markers, depending on the semantic features of the following substantive. The personal forms are reconstructable as *\*Ø* 'personal singular', and *\*da* 'personal plural'. The *\*qan* form appearing in Isinai, will be explained in the discussion of the Oblique markers below. I can provide no satisfactory explanation at the present time for Kla. *qod* personal singular Genitive marker.

The enclitic *-n* also co-occurs with particles which precede common substantives. These particles are in most instances identical with the Nominative case marking particles and are discussed in the next section.

4.2 *Nominative markers.* The personal Nominative markers are reconstructed as *\*si* 'personal singular' and *\*da* 'personal plural'. The only language which shows an innovation is Balangaw with *qah* (< *\*qas*). In Bontok, *qas* and *si* are alternates for the Oblique marker, *qas* occurring in deliberate speech, *si* occurring in normal speech after consonant final stems. The same alternation may have been present in Balangaw with subsequent loss of the Oblique alternant *si* and substitution of the *qas* form for the homophonous form which marked Nominative personal singular. For further discussion of Balangaw and Bontok *qas* see Sec. 4.4.

Isinai			
		Personal	Common
		(-n) Ø ~ (qan)	(-n) si (-n) di
Genitive	sg.		
	pl.	(-n) da	(-n) di.. -dari
Nominative	sg.	si ~ -t	di
	pl.	da	di... -dari
Oblique	sg.	qi	si ~ -t
	pl.		
Locative			si ~ -t
			siri ~ -t di
Time			si...-ad ~ -t
			si ~ -t

CHART IV (Part I) Case marking particles in Central Cordilleran languages

Kalinga

		Personal	Common
Genitive	sg.	(-n) qod	(-n) di(t) (-n) din
	pl.	(-n) da	(-n) dat (-n) dan
Nominative	sg.	si	dit ~ -t nan ~ -n
	pl.	da	dat dan
Oblique	sg.	qan	si ~ -s ~ -q sit, sin
	pl.	qan da	si dat si dan
Locative			si ~ -s ~ -q sin ~ -s nan ~ -q nan sit ~ -s dit ~ -q dit
			qod ~ -d ~ -q (Lubuagan qad)
Time			sit, sin

CHART IV (Part II) Case marking particles in  
Central Cordilleran languages

Kankanay

		Personal	Common
	sg.	(-n) Ø	(-n) di (-n) nan (-n) san (-n) din
Genitive	pl.	(-n) da	
Nominative	sg.	si din si	di nan san din
	pl.	da din da	nan san din
Oblique	sg.	k+n	qis ~ -s qis ~ -s nan qis ~ -s san
	pl.	k+n da	
Locative	qis k+n qis k+n da		qis qis nan qis san qis din
			qid
Time			qis qis nan qis din qid

CHART IV (Part III) Case marking particles in  
Central Cordilleran languages

Bontok

		Personal	Common
	sg.	(-n) $\emptyset$	(-n) si (-n) nan (-n) san
Genitive	pl.	(-n) da	(-n) nan da (-n) san da
Nominative	sg.	si	nan san
	pl.	da da	nan da san da
Oblique	sg.	-n ~ qan	si ~ qas ~ -s si ~ qas nan si ~ qas san
	pl.	-n da ~ qan da	
Locative	qas qan qas qan da		qas ~ -s qas nan qas san
			qad
Time			qas ~ -s qas nan qas san
			qad

CHART IV (Part IV) Case marking particles in  
Central Cordilleran languages

Ifugao

		Personal	Common
		(-n) Ø	(-n) nan
Genitive	sg.		
	pl.		
Nominative	sg.	hi	(ha) din (ha) nan
	pl.	da	dídan nádan
Oblique	sg.	-n ~ qay	hi ~ -h hi ~ -h nan
	pl.		
Locative			hi
			qad
Time			hi ~ -h
			qad ~ -d
			din

CHART IV (Part V) Case marking particles in Central Cordilleran languages

Balangaw

		Personal	Common
		(-n) Ø	(-n) hen
Genitive	sg.	(-n) Ø	(-n) hen
	pl.	(-n) da	
Nominative	sg.	qah	hen
	pl.	da	
Oblique	sg.		qah hen
	pl.		
Locative			qah
			qad
Time			qah
			qad

CHART IV (Part VI) Case marking particles in Central Cordilleran languages



		Personal	Common
Genitive	sg.	*(-n) Ø	*(-n) di *(-n) di nan
	pl.	*(-n) da	*(-n) dadi *(-n) dadi nan
Nominative	sg.	*si	*di *di nan
	pl.	*da	*dadi *dadi nan
Oblique	sg.	*kan(i)	*si ~ *-s *si nan ~ *-s nan
	pl.	*kan da	
Location			*qad ~ *-d *qas ~ *-s *qas nan ~ *-s nan
Time			*qad ~ *-d *qas ~ *-s *qas nan ~ *-s nan

CHART V. *The Proto-Central Cordilleran case marking system*

The reconstruction of the common Nominative markers requires the postulating of several stages of development from PCC.

Stage I      Proto-Central Cordilleran			
Singular		Plural	
General	*di	General	*dadi
Specific	*di nan	Specific	*dadi nan

From this stage it is possible to account for the Isinai data by postulating loss of contrast between the general and specific features with concomitant loss of the \*nan formative. \*di was generalized to mark both singular and plural substantives and \*dadi became a plural enclitic on the marked substantive. An enclitic definite article -ad also developed and co-occurs with *di* in most environments.<sup>14</sup> The origin of the -ad will be discussed under Locative markers.

The following sentences illustrate the use of the Nominative markers in Isinai.

- |                                    |                                 |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Isinai--1. <i>qimmáli-t Juan.</i>  | 'John came.'                    |
| 2. <i>qimmáli ra Juan.</i>         | 'John and his companions came.' |
| 3. <i>qimmáli di tahu-war.</i>     | 'The man came.'                 |
| 4. <i>qimmáli di tahu-wa-rari.</i> | 'The men came.'                 |

Stage II      Proto-North Central Cordilleran			
Singular		Plural	
General	*di	General	*da(di)
Specific	*(di) nan	Specific	*da(di) nan

From this stage it is possible to account for Kalinga and for Proto-Nuclear Cordilleran. Kalinga maintains a contrast between indefinite *di* and definite *din* in some Genitive constructions. For example:

- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Kalinga--5. <i>qanon di bolok nan qawqaw</i> | 'Qawqaw (rice water) is pigfood.' |
| 6. <i>qanon din bolokda nan qawqaw.</i>      | 'Their pig eats qawqaw.'          |

*di* and *din* however no longer function as Nominative markers in Kalinga.

In discussing the function of case-marking particles in Kalinga, Gieser (1972:22) states, "Substantive phrases in a clause referring to nonpast time are usually marked by particles ending in *n* (*sin*, *din* and *dan*), and those in a clause referring to past tense are marked by particles ending in *t* (*sit*, *dit* and *dat*)."  
*\*di* and *\*(di)nan* became respectively Kla. *di(t)* and *nan* for the singular marker. In the plural, *\*da(di)* > Kla. *da(t)*, and *\*da(di)nan* > *dan*. (Kla. *nan* and *-n* are still in alternation in some environments.) The origin of the Kla. *-t* formative is obscure but may be a reduced form of a particle *\*qit* (> Kla. *qot*) which currently functions in Kalinga, and other languages (such as Bontok and Isinai) as a conjunction in completed discourse.<sup>15</sup>

An alternate explanation is that the Kla. *-t* formative is a relic of a no longer existing Kalinga demonstrative, either *\*tu* or *\*ta*. It will be seen that Itneg has a *-t* formative with such a source on its case marking particles.<sup>16</sup>

Stage III Proto-Nuclear Cordilleran			
Singular		Plural	
General	<i>*di</i> (nan)	General	<i>*da(di)</i> nan
Specific	<i>*(sa)</i> nan	Specific	<i>*(da)</i> nan

Stage III developed from Stage II by generalizing the use of the formative *\*nan* so that it formed part of each of the common Nominative markers. The formative *\*di* was lost from the specific markers in the Nominative set. A *\*sa* formative was added to the singular specific marker to form a *\*sa nan*/*\*da nan* contrast between singular and plural specific markers. This situation is reflected in Ifugao of Kiangnan. Racho (1970) notes that the optional *ha* formative (< *\*sa*) has no function and is frequently omitted. He indicates that he considers *nádan* a surface manifestation of underlying *danan*. The general markers *\*di nan* and *\*dadi nan* were reduced respectively to *din* and *dadin*, the latter form becoming *dídan* by analogy with the singular form *nádan*. The *ha* formative became attached to *din* in Ifugao by analogy with the *hanan* marker. Semantically, Ifg. (*ha*)*nan* retains a more specific meaning, referring to something which is not present; conversely, (*ha*)*din* retains a more general meaning.<sup>17</sup>

It appears that Balangaw has completely lost the Nominative set of markers, substituting for them the marker of the Oblique case.

Stage IV	Proto-Kankanay-Bontok	
General	*nan	Specific *san

Stage IV lost the distinctive plural markers. Both Kankanay and Bontok now mark plural substantives by optionally following the marker with a plural demonstrative. (Balangaw likewise marks plural in the same manner.) For example:

Bontok--7.	<i>nan laláki</i>	'the man'
8.	<i>nan diqíyda lallaláki</i>	'the (those) men'

Bontok may also reduce the demonstrative in this position leaving only the plural formative *da*, e.g.,

Bontok--9.	<i>nan da lallálaki</i>	'the men'
------------	-------------------------	-----------

Stage IV also lost \**di* forms from the common Nominative set, although they still functioned in the Genitive set maintaining the "general" meaning (with (-*n*)) as described above for Kalinga (sentences #5 and 6). The equivalent use in Kankanay is seen in the following examples:

Kankanay--10.	<i>qinálan di búsu siya.</i>	'He was enemy-gotten.' <sup>18</sup>
11.	<i>qinálan nan búsu siya.</i>	'The enemy got him.'

In Bontok this function of *di* is replaced by *si*. For example:

Bontok--12.	<i>kimnan si qútut nan qúbi.</i>	'The sweet potato was rat-eaten.'
13.	<i>kimnan nan qútut nan qúbi.</i>	'A rat ate the sweet potato.'

Kankanay has also retained *din* but it either co-occurs with the personal substantive markers *si* and *da* to indicate a person who is deceased, or as a common marker indicating a noun with past time relevance, e.g.,

Kankanay--14.	<i>Kíg din puslaqit datuna</i>	
	like flashlight these	
	'Like the former flashlight of these people.'	

The loss of \*di from the Nominative set left \*nan to carry the general meaning, a function which it has today in both Kankanay and Bontok. The specific meaning is carried by *san*, a reduction of the earlier \*sa nan. In both Kankanay and Bontok *san* marks a substantive to which special reference is made. It frequently marks a substantive as being within the shared knowledge of speaker and hearer ("the one you and I know about"), and hence is often a substantive whose referent is not present.<sup>19</sup>

4.3 *Oblique markers.* The common Oblique markers can be reconstructed for PCC as:

General	*si
Specific	*si nan

The general marker is reflected as Isi., Kla., Bon. *si*, and Ifg. *hi*. Knk. *qis* is probably a metathesis of \*si. The analogical basis for the metathesis will be discussed in the section on Locative markers. The Bontok form alternates with *qas*, a metathesized *sa*, which will be discussed further below. Blw. *qah* which likewise is a metathesis of \*ha (< \*sa), has replaced the reflex of \*si. Some of these languages also have a reduced, consonant enclitic variant which normally occurs following a vowel final stem. In Isinai it is -t (\*-s > Isi. -t, e.g., \*qimis > Isi. *qomot*), in Bontok and Kankanay it is -s, and in Ifugao it is -h. The \*nan formative was lost in Isinai being replaced by *di*. Ifugao<sup>20</sup> retained *hinan*, as have Kankanay and Bontok, the latter two languages also differentiating between *nan* and *san* as in the Nominative series. Balangaw and Kalinga have reduced \*si nan to Blw. *hen* and Kla. *sin*, the Balangaw form becoming a marker for all common substantives in Genitive, Nominative and Oblique cases.

There are problems in the reconstruction of the personal Oblique markers. Bon. *qan* is the form commonly used in the Guinaang dialect. It is probably an irregular development from \*kan which is reflected as such in Bontoc town. Kla. *qan* probably also derives from \*kan, and the Ifugao enclitic -n is also probably from this source. However the Ifugao languages also show reflexes of a form \*kay: Kiangnan *ke*, Banaue *qe*, Bayninan *qi*, Batad *qay*.<sup>21</sup> Bayninan *qi* is apparently an irregular development,

perhaps to differentiate it from an otherwise homophonous postposed conditional marker. Banaue has apparently disambiguated the same two forms by irregularly changing the conditional marker to *qi*. Reflexes of the \**kay* conditional marker are as follows: Kiangnan *ke*, Banaue *qi*, Bayninan *qe*, Batad *qay*.

Isinai likewise has an *qi* personal Oblique marker. Several possible sources are apparent for this form. Isinai and Ifugao are geographically the closest of the Central Cordilleran languages and have no doubt mutually influenced each other. It is possible that Isi. *qi* developed from \**kay* as discussed above for Bayninan, or that Isinai borrowed the Bayninan form. This however is not a strong possibility.

Isi. *qi* is formally cognate with Inibaloi *qi*, Pangasinan *-y*. But the latter two forms are generally common Nominative markers, not personal Oblique.<sup>22</sup> It is not probable that Isinai borrowed the Inibaloi form and switched its functions. Looking at the Northern Cordilleran languages *qi* also appears. In Ilokano it forms part of the common Oblique marker *qi-ti*. In Gaddang, Oblique markers are *si* (common) and *qi* (personal), corresponding exactly with the forms appearing in Isinai. Although Isinai is contiguous to the so-called "Christian" Gaddang population in Nueva Vizcaya, it is unlikely that Gaddang borrowed the forms from Isinai since the "Pagan" Gaddang population in Calaccad (South-Eastern Kalinga Province) and Parasiles (Eastern Bontoc Province) also use these forms. The possibility of Isinai borrowing from Gaddang remains, but is considered unlikely. The most satisfactory solution is to consider that both Gaddang and Isinai directly reflect a personal Oblique \**qi* and a common Oblique \**si*. These forms would need to be reconstructed for Proto-Cordilleran, since on other grounds it is necessary to assign Isinai and Gaddang to separate subgroups of Cordilleran. We are left then with the necessity of reconstructing for PCC two personal Oblique markers, \**kan* and \**qi*, with Proto-Ifugao \**kay* posing a problem because it is apparently cognate with Tagalog *kay*, a personal Oblique marker found also in other languages of the subgroup to which Tagalog belongs (e.g., Hiligaynon). Returning to \**kan* and \**qi* it is not necessary to assume that these were dialectal

variants of the personal Oblique marker. It is more likely that in Proto-Central Cordilleran they occurred in sequence as \*kan-i, from Proto-Cordilleran \*ka-ni. The equivalent plural form in Proto-Cordilleran was \*ka-da, but because of the reanalysis of the singular form, in Proto-Central Cordilleran the plural form became \*kan-da. Note that the reanalysis of the singular form was probably the result of the reduction of the Genitive \*ni to \*-n in Proto-Central Cordilleran. The Proto-Cordilleran reconstructions are supported by the Ibanag personal Oblique markers *kani* (singular) and *kada* (plural), as well as by the forms of the Ilokano Oblique pronouns *kani-ak*, *kada-ta*, *kada-kayu*, *kada-kami*, etc. Ilokano retains *kada* for the plural personal marker, but has developed *ken(ni)* for the singular.

In Isinai, the first part of the re-formation, \*kan, changed its function to become the optional marker of a personal Genitive phrase, e.g.,

Isinai--15. *qasu-n Juan-ar ~ qasu-n qan Juan-ar* 'The dog of John'

16. *qirmot qan Juan di qapuxtanar*  
bathed John brother-his-the 'John bathed his brother.'

The second part of \*kan-i was retained in Isinai as the personal Oblique marker.

Reconsidering Proto-Ifugao \*kay in the light of the reconstruction of \*kan-i, it becomes apparent that Lambrecht's suggestion (1970:309, 325) that Kiangnan Ifugao *ke* developed from an earlier *kay* or *ka + i* is no doubt correct. Whereas Kankanay, Bontok, and Kalinga reflect only \*kan, Proto-Ifugao developed variant forms \*kan > \*-n and \*ka-i > \*kay, the former occurring following vowel final stems, the latter following consonant final stems.

4.4 *Location and Time markers.* All of the Central Cordilleran languages mark at least two types of locative: place names and general locations. Several of the languages also distinguish between place names which are distant or unfamiliar and those that are local or familiar. This latter distinction is not rigid however, some place names

which are local are regularly marked with the "distant" marker. The opposite is not generally true, i.e., distant locations seem never to carry the "local" place name marker.

The markers which appear before time words are generally homophonous with the location markers. The form which marks distant place names also marks past time, the form which marks local place names also marks nonpast time words. General time phrases as "every morning," "when he comes" are marked by the form which also marks general locations.

For Proto-Central Cordilleran it is necessary to reconstruct the following:

*Locative markers*

Distant place names	*qad ~ *-d
Local place names	*qas ~ *-s
General location	*qas nan ~ *-s nan

*Time markers*

Past time words	*qad ~ *-d
Nonpast time words	*qas ~ *-s
General time	*qas nan ~ *-s nan

Although it is probable that PCC \*qas is a metathesis of an earlier \*sa (which is reflected as a locative marker in languages such as Tagalog), there is no evidence that the unmetathesized form was present as a locative or time marker in PCC. The metathesis probably was an analogical change to produce *qa-* initial markers in the system. Balangaw and Bontok both reflect \*qad and \*qas. In fact the Balangaw reflex *qah* has replaced the reflex of the Oblique marker \*si as well as the personal Nominative \*si. The dissimilarity of Blw. *hi* and Blw. *qah* raises the question of what motivated the substitution of one for the other, especially when the same process appears to be operating in Bontok with *si* alternating with *qas* as the Oblique marker, as well as in the locative and time markers. Both *si* and *qas* have a reduced enclitic form *-s*.

For example:

Bontok--17. *qumálaka-s qítáb* 'Get some beans.'



- Bontok--18. *qumálaka-s wákas* 'Get some tomorrow.'  
 19. *qumálaka-s dítal* 'Get some at Dítal.'

Note also:

20. *qumálaka-s nan qítab.* 'Get some of the beans.'  
 21. *qumálaka-s nan qanbattan.* 'Get some in the afternoon.'  
 22. *qumálaka-s nan qálan.* 'Get some from the granary.'

With homophonony occurring in the enclitic forms, it is not surprising that the surface case distinctions were lost in the full forms as well. The choice of *qas* or *si* in Bontok is now phonologically determined (*si* only occurs after a consonant final stem, *qas* is used in deliberate speech), although there are some locative phrases where only *qas* is used, as in the personal locative markers. For example:

- Bontok--23. *qínálak qas qan da Juan.* 'I got (it) from John's place.'

In Kankanay the same process described for Bontok has occurred, except that the reflex of \**qas* which alternated with *si* in the Oblique was treated as a metathesis of *si* resulting in *qis* rather than *qas*. This form was then generalized, replacing the *qas* in both the locative and time series. Kankanay went one step further and changed *qad* to *qíd* by analogy with *qis*. In Ifugao, *hi* as a locative marker corresponds to the *si* alternant described for Bontok, and probably had a parallel development.

The three way contrast of time markers shown in Chart IV for Ifugao indicates distinctions between future time (*hi*), past time (*qad*) and time distant from the future in either direction, that is, away from 'now' (*din*).<sup>23</sup> E.g.,

- Bayninan Ifugao--24. *qad quwandi* 'awhile ago'  
 25. *qad qugga* 'yesterday'  
 26. (*hi*) *qandani* 'after a while, in a minute'  
 27. (*hi*) *mōqi* 'tomorrow'

- Bayninan Ifugao-- 28. *hi tuluy qalgo* 'in three days; three  
days from now'  
29. *din qalgo* 'two days ago'

Isinai shows a reflex of \**qad* as a past time marker, but suffixed to the time word. It is preceded by the marker *si* (~ -*t*) which occurs as a general marker in both Genitive and Oblique cases in Isinai, and has been generalized as a general locative and time marker as well. For example:

- Isinai--30. *dumátunqami-t tawqon.* 'We will arrive next  
year.'  
31. *dimmátunqami-t tawqon-ar.* 'We arrived last year.'

Past time is treated in CC languages as carrying the feature definite; future time as carrying the feature indefinite. Note the use of *san* (definite) versus *nan* (indefinite) in the following Bontok examples:

- Bontok--32. *qumiyda-s nan qagqagiw.* 'They will go in the  
morning.'  
33. *qirmiyda-s san qagqagiw.* 'They went this  
morning.'

It was probably from the use of *-ad* as a suffix to mark past time that its function as a definite article developed in Isinai, being suffixed to any substantive which was otherwise marked as definite by Isi. *di*.

The suffixation of *-ad* is present also in Bayninan Ifugao but only on a few past time words, for example:

- Bayninan Ifugao--34. *hi tawon* 'next year'  
35. *qumāliqami-h tawon* 'we'll come next  
year'  
36. *qad tawōn-ad* 'last year'  
37. *qimmāliqami-d tawōn-ad* 'we came last  
year'

It may be that we see in Bayninan Ifugao the beginning of the development of the process which brought about the enclitic definite article in Isinai.

5. THE POSITION OF ITNEG IN CC. In Section 2 above and elsewhere in this paper, reference has been made to the fact that Itneg shows evidence of a long period of contact with Ilokano. This contact has resulted not only in extensive lexical borrowing (which has apparently inflated lexicostatistical test scores between Ilokano and Itneg), but also has resulted in the borrowing of various morphological and syntactic features. These include the first person inclusive plural pronoun *tayu* which is not found elsewhere in CC, nor does it occur in any Northern Cordilleran languages other than Ilokano, a *-g* final, actor focus verbal prefix (*mag-*, compare Ilk. *ag-*) where elsewhere in the CC languages *-n* is the final consonant (Knk. *m+n-*, Kla. *man-*, etc.), as well as some of the case-marking particles, e.g., the singular Genitive marker *ni*, instead of the expected CC *-n*.

The sum of these features has led some investigators to believe that Itneg is in fact genetically most closely related to Ilokano. However a careful examination of the evidence seems to indicate that Itneg is a member of the CC subgroup and is genetically most closely related to Kalinga.

Various anthropologists who have studied the Kalinga and/or the Itneg (otherwise known as Tinguian or Tinggian) have asserted that the Itneg population is the result of a Kalinga expansion into Abra. (For a summary of the evidence see Lambrecht and Billiet, 1970:26-40.) The impressionistic linguistic statements made by Billiet on the basis of 45 years of living with the Kalinga are supported by the following facts.

Itneg reflects PAN \*R as *ʔ* as do all the CC languages. Ilokano reflects \*R as *r*, the other Northern Cordilleran languages reflect \*R as *g*. Itneg reflects PAN \*e as *i*, without gemination of the following consonant as in Ilokano (cp. Ilk. *bettak* 'crack', Itg. *bitak* 'break'; Ilk. *deppa*, Itg. *dipa* 'arm span'). This gemination is not a process which has developed in Ilokano consequent to a postulated split between Ilokano and Itneg, since it is an innovation which characterizes all of the Northern Cordilleran languages. Kalinga reflects PAN \*e as *o*. This

development occurred after Itneg separated from Proto-Kalinga-Itneg. As indicated in footnote 16 Itneg shares in the PCC innovation of suffixing *\*-iy* to demonstrative roots. Itg. *-tuwɨ* developed from PCC *\*tuwɨy* and *-diyɨ* from *\*diyɨy*. The demonstrative formative *-ta* in Itg. *sita* 'there, near hearer' is assumed to be borrowed from Ilokano, since it does not occur elsewhere in the CC languages.

An examination of Itneg case-marking particles (see Chart VI) provides additional evidence for considering Itneg to be part of the CC subgroup. The most important piece of evidence is the appearance of the PCC innovation *-n* as an alternant of *ni* for the personal singular Genitive marker, e.g., *bula ni Juan* ~ *bula-n Juan* 'John's ball'. That the use of *-n* is evidence of Itneg's subgrouping with the CC languages rather than areal influence from Kalinga is supported by the fact that a syntactic innovation which was brought about by this reduction (see Section 6 below) is also found in Itneg.

Itneg common noun phrase markers in both Genitive and Nominative cases are the same as the personal markers but with a final formative, either *-t* or *-d*. This final consonant is probably a reduction of the demonstratives, e.g., *bula nit qanak* ~ *bula nita qa qanak* 'the ball of this child'; *bula nid qanak* ~ *bula nidi qa qanak* 'the ball of that child'; *nit* and *nid* are apparently also acceptable reductions of the other demonstratives *nituwɨ* and *nidiyɨ*. Thus in the plural also, *dat* is a reduction of both *data* and *datuwɨ*, and *dad* of *dadi* and *dadiyɨ*. The semantic distinction between *dadi* and *dadiyɨ* is not clear, but the former is undoubtedly the reflex of PCC *\*(-n) dadi*, and the latter of the demonstrative *\*diqɨy* discussed in footnote 16.

The use in Itneg of common markers based on the personal markers *ni* and *si*, is probably a result of the borrowing of Ilokano *ni* in the personal singular Genitive to replace Itg. *-n*, but since in the CC languages *-n* also marked common noun phrases, the function of the borrowed *ni* was expanded to include this function also. The inherited *si* personal marker expanded its function to include the marking of common noun phrases by analogy with *ni*.

	Personal		Common
	sg.	ni ~ -n	nit nid
Genitive	pl.	da	dat dad
Nominative	sg.	si	sit sid
	pl.	da	dat dad
Oblique	sg.	kan ~ kanni	ta kantuw† kanta, kandi, kandiy†
	pl.	kada	kadatuw†, kadata, kadadi
Locative			di
Time			kandi, sidi

CHART VI. *Itneg case-marking particles*

In addition to the evidence adduced above, various other pieces of evidence have come to my attention which indicate that if a thorough dialectal study were made of Itneg a much clearer picture of the relationship of Itneg to the CC languages would emerge. Walton<sup>24</sup> has indicated, for example, that *-taku* is the 1+2 p. Nominative pronoun in Banaw Itneg, rather than the borrowed *taŋu* and that Masadiit Itneg (spoken in Bucloc and Sallapadan) uses a demonstrative *naqoy*. Both *-taku* and *naqoy* are reflexes of PCC innovations and thus further support the subgrouping of Itneg postulated here.

6. A SYNTACTIC INNOVATION IN PROTO-CENTRAL CORDILLERAN. Many Philippine languages allow a relatively free ordering of nominal constituents following the verb when these constituents are not pronominal. However when one of the constituents (either Subject of an active sentence, or the agent or Subject of a passive sentence) is a pronoun, the pronoun necessarily occurs before the other complements.

For example:

- Tagalog--38. *nakita si Ben ni Pedro* 'Pedro saw Ben.'  
 39. *nakita ni Pedro si Ben* 'Pedro saw Ben.'  
 40. *nakita niya si Ben* 'He saw Ben.'  
 41. *nakita siya ni Pedro* 'Pedro saw him.'

But not: \**nakita ni Pedro siya*

- Ilokano--42. *inayaban ni Juan ni Maria* 'Juan called Mary.'  
 43. *inayaba-k ni Maria* 'I called Mary.'  
 44. *inayaban-ak ni Juan* 'Juan called me.'

But not: \**inayaban ni Juan siak*.

The Central Cordilleran languages, however, show a syntactic innovation which required that in passive sentences the Agent obligatorily precede the Subject, regardless of whether or not the Subject was a noun phrase or a pronoun. This was probably a result of the reduction of the Cordilleran Genitive marker \**ni* to \*-*n*, enclitic to vowel final verb stems.

All of the daughter languages reflect this syntactic change although Isinai only retains relics of it. For example:

- Bontok--45. *qiníla-n nan laláki nan qasáwana*  
                   saw                   man                   wife-his  
                   'The man saw his wife.'  
 46. *qiníla-k nan qasáwana* 'I saw his wife.'  
 47. *qiníla-n nan laláki siya* 'The man saw her.'

But not: \**qiníla siya nan laláki*

Note also the following cognate structures:

- Kalinga-- 48. *binánon din laláqi sáqon*  
 Itneg-- 49. *binánon nit táqu diyakín*

Bontok-- 50. *bind̥ŋun nan laláki sakq̃in*  
 Balangaw--51. *bind̥ŋon hen laláqe haq̃in*

'The man woke me up.'

In Isinai the following passive paradigm occurs:

Isinai--52.	<i>qinila-naq si tahu-war</i>	'The man saw me.'
53.	<i>qinila-taqa-t tahu-war</i>	'The man saw you (sg).'
54.	<i>qinila-rita-t tahu-war</i>	'The man saw us two.'
55.	<i>siya-t qinila-n di tahu-war</i>	'The man saw him.'
56.	<i>qinila-rami-t tahu-war</i>	'The man saw us (excl).'
57.	<i>qinila-ritaqu-t tahu-war</i>	'The man saw us (incl).'
58.	<i>qinila-raqayu-t tahu-war</i>	'The man saw you (pl).'
59.	<i>qinila-n di tahu-war dira</i>	'The man saw them.'

That this paradigm has developed from one in which the word order was Verb + Agent + Subject can be assumed from the following facts: (a) third person plural retains the PCC innovated order, with the expected *-n* clitic Genitive marker. (b) third person singular likewise retains the expected Genitive form, although the Subject pronoun has become preposed to the Verb. (c) The other personal pronouns (except 1 s.) are the same (or similar to) the free, long form Nominatives in Isinai, leading to the conclusion that the Subject pronoun originally followed the Agent, as in the other CC languages, but later became long form clitic pronouns. In languages such as Ilokano and Tagalog that did not undergo the syntactic innovation discussed in this section, the pronoun in sentences such as these is the same as the short Nominative form which occurs as the Subject of active sentences. (d) The Agent in Isinai, when definite, is regularly preceded by *di* and followed by *-ar*, as in the sentences with third person Subjects above. This combination is also the definite marker for Subject nouns. The postulated switch from Verb + Noun Agent + Pronoun Subject to Verb + Pronoun Subject + Noun Agent eliminated the Genitive *-n* suffix on the verb, leading to possible ambiguity as to the function of the *di* marked phrase. To avoid this ambiguity the *di* was replaced with *si* (~ *-t*) which elsewhere in the language marks indefinite nouns (for example out-of-focus Objects), but retained the definite suffix *-ar* on the *si* marked noun.

7. LEXICAL INNOVATIONS WITHIN PCC. The following lexical forms are probably exclusively shared within PCC. Each item has a reflex in Isinai as well as at least one of the languages in the North Central Cordilleran subgroup.

1. \*qátuŋ           Kla., Itg., Bon., Knk., Ifg., Isi. *qátuŋ*, Blw. *qátuŋ* 'hot, to burn oneself.'
2. \*qít+iŋ       Kla. *qoton*, Itg. *qít+iŋ*, Blw. *ma-taŋ*, Bon., Knk., *qít+iŋ* 'mature', Ifg. *qoton* 'mature pig'
3. \*qiba           Ifg. *qiba*, Blw. *qibA*, Isi. *qiva* 'sibling'
4. \*qigid          Kla., Bon., Knk., Blw. *qigid*, Ifg. *qiggid*, Isi. *qi-qixir* 'left (side)'
5. \*qila           Kla., Bon., Knk., Isi. *qíla*, Blw. *qilA* 'see'
6. \*bagaŋ         Kla., Bon., Knk., Ifg. *bagaŋ*, Blw. *bAgaŋ*, Isi. *baxaŋ* 'neck' (Possibly a semantic development from \*baRqaŋ 'molar')
7. \*banq+iŋ       Itg., Knk. *banq+iŋ*, Kla. *banqog*, Isi. *manqox* 'small'
8. \*dalit          Kla., Bon., Knk., Isi. *dalit*, Blw. *delet*, Ifg. *dalet* 'eel'
9. \*dipag          Bon., Knk., Blw. *dipag*, Ifg. *dopag*, Isi. *dopaχ* 'lie on one's back, lie flat', Kla. *dopag* 'undermatting of thatch.'
10. \*dugi          Kla., Itg., Blw., Ifg. *duŋi*, Isi. *duxí* 'husk of rice', Knk. *duŋi-yan* 'rice' (used in tales).
11. \*g'ig'id       Bon., Blw. *g'ig'id*, Kla., Ifg., *gógod*, Isi. *goggor* 'slice meat'
12. \*kilaŋ         Itg., Bon. *kilaŋ*, Knk. *kíqaŋ*, Kla., Blw., Ifg. *qolaŋ*, Isi. *kolaŋ* 'worm'
13. \*kiyat          Bon. *kíyat*, Kla., Isi. *qiyat* 'swim'
14. \*kupkup       Bon., Knk. *kupkup*, Ifg., Isi. *qupqup* 'skin of human'
15. \*kúgab         Knk. *kúgab*, Ifg. *qúgab* 'last night', Isi. *quxab* 'late, afternoon'
16. \*líktat        Bon., Knk. *líktat*, Isi. *loqtat* 'sudden'



17. \*lɪtɪp<sup>25</sup> Bon., Knk. *lɪtɪp*, Blw. *lɪtɪp*, Ifg., Isi. *lotop* 'dive', Itg. *lɪtɪp* 'immerse one-self in water'
18. \*libúqu Kla., Itg., Bon., Knk. *libúqu*, Isi. *libbu* 'cloud'
19. \*liglig Kla. *liglig* 'go around, circumvent', Knk. *liglig* 'deviate', Ifg. *liglig* 'flanking in battle', Isi. *liχliχ* 'off the road, to one side'
20. \*lɪgab Knk. *lɪgab*, Isi. *loxab* 'set ablaze', Ifg. *logab* 'conflagration'
21. \*lúsud Kla., Itg. *lúsud* 'upright for a fence', Knk. *lúsud*, Itg. *luhud*, Isi. *lusur* 'wooden fence'
22. \*naqid Kla., Itg., Isi. *naqid* 'there is none'
23. \*punɪg Bon., Knk. *punɪg*, Ifg. *punnog*, Isi. *punoχ* 'blood sausage'
24. \*putu Bon., Ifg., Isi. *putu*, Blw. *poto* 'belly, intestines'
25. \*sagamsam Kla., Bon., Knk. *sagamsam*, Isi. *saxamsam* 'to remove weeds from growing rice'
26. \*sagqɪn Bon., Knk. *sagqɪn*, Blw. *hagqɪn*, Ifg. *haggon*, Isi. *saxqon* 'near, next to'
27. \*sakúku Knk. *sákuku*, Ifg. *haquíqu*, Isi. *saquíqu* 'kind of snake'
28. \*sɪpdak Bon., Knk. *sɪpdak*, Ifg. *hopdaq*, Isi. *sopdaq* 'whip, beat in wrestling'
29. \*sin- Kla., Bon., Knk., Isi. *sin-*, Blw. *hen-*, Ifg. *hin-* 'one unit'
30. \*súkup Kla. *súkup* 'cap, stopper (e.g., of a bottle)', Bon. *súkup* 'kind of basket', Knk. *súkup* 'cover of basket', Ifg. *huqup* 'lid of vessel', Isi. *suqup* 'little container for thread'
31. \*tagqɪy Bon., Knk. *tagqɪy*, Isi. *taxqoy* 'above, up', Itg. *tagqay* 'raise', Kla. *tanqoy*<sup>26</sup> 'raise, elevate'
32. \*tɪbɪŋ Bon., Knk. *tɪbɪŋ*, Ifg., Isi. *tobon* 'pierce'
33. \*tɪkɪn Bon., Knk. *tɪkɪn*, Blw. *taqan*, Ifg. *na-tqon*, Isi. *toqon* 'different'

34. \*túbu           Kla., Itg., Bon., Knk., Blw., Ifg. *túbu*,  
Isi. *tuwu* 'leaf' (Probably a semantic  
development from \*tubuq 'to grow')
35. \*waŋwaŋ       Kla., Itg., Bon., Knk., Blw., Ifg., Isi.  
*waŋwaŋ* 'river'

The following lexical items are possible exclusive-ly shared innovations within the North Central Cordilleran subgroup. To qualify for inclusion in this group a reconstructed form must have reflexes in Kalinga or Itneg, as well as in at least two other members of the subgroup, that is in Bontok (and/or Kankanay) and Balangaw or Ifugao, or in Balangaw and Ifugao.

1. \*qákɪw           Bon., Knk. *qákɪw*, Kla., Blw., Ifg. (Batad) *qákaw*,<sup>27</sup> Ifg. (Amganad) *qáko* 'steal'
2. \*qanuka          Bon. *qanuka*, Kla. *qamuqa*, Ifg., Blw. *qanqa*,  
Knk. *qanukqa*<sup>28</sup> 'what's-it'
3. \*qáwɪl          Kla., Bon., Knk. *qawɪl*, Ifg. *qáwel* 'kind of  
gift'
4. \*qɪgyat          Bon., Knk., Blw. *qɪgyat*, Kla. *qogyat* 'fear'
5. \*qɪkdag          Bon., Knk. *qɪkdag*, Blw. *ma-qɪg*, Kla.  
*qoddag*,<sup>29</sup> Itg. *qɪtdag* ~ *qɪkdag* 'fall'
6. \*qɪŋɪl          Itg., Bon *qɪŋɪl*, Kla. *qoŋoɭ*, Blw. *qanɪl*  
'nose'
7. \*qɪsɪk          Itg., Bon., Knk. *qɪsɪk*, Ifg. *qohooq* 'to  
plant', Kla. *qosoq* 'to transplant rice'
8. \*qɪŋa           Kla., Itg., Bon., Knk., Ifg. *qɪŋa*, Blw.  
*qɪŋʌ* 'ear'
9. \*qútu           Kla., Itg., Bon., Knk. *qútu*, Blw. *qúto*  
'cook'
10. \*bágiw          Kla., Bon., Knk., Blw., Ifg. *bágiw* 'pond-  
field algae'
11. \*dákig          Kla., Bon., Knk. *dákig*, Blw., Ifg. *dáqig*  
'bolt of a door'
12. \*gaman          Kla., Itg., Bon., Knk., Blw., Ifg. *gaman*  
'head axe'
13. \*kan           Kla., Bon., Knk., Barlig, Kadaklan<sup>30</sup> *kan*  
'say'

14. \*lawa           Kla., Bon., Knk., Blw., Ifg. *lawa* 'useless, without purpose, insignificant'
15. \*lukbub       Kla., Bon., Knk., Ifg. *lukbub*, 'to lie on one's stomach'
16. \*maqid       Bon., Knk., Blw. *maqid*, Ifg. (Batad) *miqid*, Ifg. (Amganad) *maqqid* 'there is none'<sup>31</sup>
17. \*paláyin      Itg., Bon., Knk. *paláyin*, Ifg. *paláyun*, Blw. *paláyin* 'a kind of tree'
18. \*pánad       Kla. *pánad* 'a level area', Bon. *pánad* 'foundation of a pondfield', Knk., Ifg. *pánad* 'level'
19. \*sunṣun      Kla., Bon., Knk. *sunṣun*, Blw. *honḥon*, Ifg. *hunḥun* 'to smell'<sup>32</sup>
20. \*sápit        Itg. (Banaw), Knk. *sápit*, Blw., Ifg. *hápet* 'relate; word'
21. \*táyap        Itg., Blw., Ifg. *táyap* 'to fly', Bon. *tayap* 'to fly, as a thrown spear', Kla. *táyap* 'to fly, as something blown by the wind'
22. \*tukdu        Kla., Bon., Knk. *tukdu*, Blw. *tuqdu* 'to sit'
23. \*tuṅqal       Kla., Bon. *tuṅqal*, Blw. *tonal*, Ifg. *tunāl* 'bone', Knk. *tunqa* 'skull of a small animal'

The following lexical items are exclusively shared by Kalinga and/or Itneg and only one other of the North Central Cordilleran languages and are therefore less persuasive as evidence for this subgroup.

24. \*qibɪl        Bon. *qibɪl*, Knk. *qibɪ*, Kla. *qobol* 'wet'<sup>33</sup>
25. \*qisna        Kla. *qisna*, Blw. *qisnɔ* 'cooked rice'
26. \*dapqay      Itg., Bon., Knk. *dapqay* 'rock with a wide flat surface; paved place; men's communal house'
27. \*kɪgkɪg      Bon., Knk. *kɪgkɪg*, Kla. *kogkog* 'knock, beat, as on a door'
28. \*lagan        Kla., Itg., Bon., Knk. *lagan* 'sand'
29. \*lákɪy        Bon., Knk. *lákɪy*, Kla. *lákoy* 'termite'
30. \*munqul      Itg., Kla., Bon. *munqul* 'summit'
31. \*putaqák     Bon. *putaqak*, Kla. *putáqaq* 'white'

Lexical evidence supporting the subgrouping of Bontok-Kankanay, Balangaw and Ifugao consists of the following (1-11 have reflexes in each of the three branches, 12-19 have reflexes in only two of the branches):

1. \*qágid Bon., Knk., Blw., Ifg., *qágid* 'to sharpen to a point, as a stick'
2. \*qáqiw Bon. *qáqiw*, Blw. *qaqqaw*, Ifg. (Bayninan) *qáo*, Ifg. (Amganad) *qaqqo* 'shadow'
3. \*qad [qu]wáni Bon. *qadwáni*, Knk. *qidwáni*, Blw. *qad qúwán*, Ifg. *qad quwáni* 'today'
4. \*gɨsgɨs Bon., Knk. *gɨsgɨs*, Blw. *gɨhgɨh*, Ifg. *gosgos* 'to slice, as camote leaves'
5. \*kawa Bon. *kaw-qín* (*ma-kwa*), Blw., Ifg. *man-wa* 'way; to pass along a trail'
6. \*kítin Bon., Knk. *kítin*, Blw. *kéteng*, Ifg. *qéten* 'to pinch'
7. \*lakuwan Bon., Knk. *lakuwan*, *lumáku*, Blw. *laqwan*, Ifg. *lumáqu* 'to buy'
8. \*lɨmlɨm Bon., Knk. *lɨmlɨm*, Ifg. *lomlom* 'rain storm, typhoon', Blw. *lɨmlɨm* 'mist'
9. \*páduŋ Bon., Ifg. *páduŋ*, Blw. *pádoŋ* 'similar'
10. \*púkɨl Bon. *púkɨl*, Knk. *púkɨ*, Blw. *póqal*, Ifg. *púqol* 'shoulder'
11. \*tíkɨd Bon., Knk. *tíkɨd*, Blw. *téqed*, Ifg. *tíqid* 'ascend'
12. \*qaptik Bon., Knk. *qaptik*, Blw. *qatteq* 'short'
13. \*bayag Bon., Knk. *bayag*, Blw. *bɨyag* 'old, of an object'
14. \*búyuy Bon., Knk., Blw. *búyuy* 'a boil'
15. \*kɨnɨg Bon. *kɨnɨg*, Blw. *kɨnɨg* 'firm, hard'
16. \*pagpag Bon., Knk., Blw. *pagpag* 'forest'
17. \*qadɨl Blw. *qadal*, Ifg. *qadol* 'body'
18. \*qɨpɨt Blw. *na-qpat*, Ifg. *na-qpot* (*qopot*) 'wet'
19. \*ɨɨlu Blw., Ifg. *ɨɨlu* 'dull'

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Data upon which this paper is based were gathered first under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Philippines. Subsequently my research has been funded by University of Hawaii Intramural Research Grants for which I hereby express my gratitude. Thanks are also due to the following members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who allowed me access to their data and who discussed various problems with me related to this paper: Richard Gieser (Kalinga), Charles Walton (Itneg), and Joanne Shetler (Balangaw). Research on Isinai was conducted during the summer of 1973. I wish to thank Mr. Isabelo Gonzales of Bambang, Nueva Vizcaya for his patient help.

<sup>2</sup>An earlier decision to refer to this group of languages by the simpler term Igorot, has been abandoned in favor of the term Central Cordilleran. The term Igorot (see Scott 1962) is still considered to have pejorative connotations in various parts of the Philippines, and although most of the groups included in this subgroup call themselves Igorots, neither the Ifugao nor the Isinai do. Moreover several groups that have been referred to in the anthropological literature as Igorots, such as the Inibaloi, are not included in this subgroup.

<sup>3</sup>The following language abbreviations will be used,

Blw. Balangaw	Kla. Kalinga
Bon. Bontok	Kln. Kallahan
Ifg. Ifugao	Knk. Kankanay
Ilk. Ilokano	CC Central Cordilleran
Ilt. Ilongot	NC Nuclear Cordilleran
Isi. Isinai	NCC North Central Cordilleran
Itg. Itneg	PAN Proto-Austronesian
Ivt. Ivatan	PCC Proto-Central Cordilleran
	PPH Proto-Philippines

<sup>4</sup>Such as PAN \*R > ʔ, and use of an -n final actor focus prefix (e.g., Ini. *man-*, Knk. *m+n-*) rather than the equivalent -g final form (e.g., Ilk. *ag-*), etc.

<sup>5</sup>Unfortunately, Thomas and Healey do not provide in their tables the evidence upon which this subgrouping is based. Their subgrouping of Kalinga and Tingguian with the Ilokano-Cagayan branch appears only on their tree (1962:23). In their discussion they define the Ilokano-Cagayan branch as consisting of Agta, Gaddang, Atta, Ibanag, Isneg and Ilokano, and note that

"the internal unity of the group is rather loose knit, with intrabranh comparisons ranging from 44% to about 60% (1962:25). The status of Kalinga and Tingguian are not discussed.

<sup>6</sup>PAN forms are taken from Zorc (1971), who cites the source for each item. The PCC forms are in most cases reconstructed on the basis of the evidence appearing in Bontok.

<sup>7</sup>There are a few problem cases where \*R is apparently reflected as *g* in the CC languages. In all cases the forms also show *g* reflexes in Ilokano, where *r* is the usual reflex. The problem is discussed in Conant (1911) with reference to Ilokano, and by Reid (1972) with reference to the NCC languages. *l* is also the reflex of \*R in Itneg, a language which shows surface similarity to Ilokano, but which, I believe, subgroups with CC.

<sup>8</sup>Llamzon (1969:22) cites \*sanDar 'lean' > Ifg. *handag* as evidence for PAN \*-r > Ifg. -*g*. However, the reconstruction is inaccurately cited. Dempwolff reconstructs the form with a final \*R, so that the Ifugao form is another example of Conant's "stereotype" *g* reflex of \*R, rather than an irregular reflex of \*r.

<sup>9</sup>The irregular first vowel is a result of assimilation to the following vowel. Note also the doublet \*búgaw 'to shout' with an irregular \*R<sub>3</sub> > \*g reflex.

<sup>10</sup>PCC \*sílíw is reflected in Bontok as *sílíw* 'pitch pine torch'. A doublet *sílaw* also occurs meaning 'kerosene lantern or other nonindigenous light'.

<sup>11</sup>Comparison with the Bontok form *makluŋ* 'dry up' (from *ma-* + *kuluŋ*) shows that Balangaw has metathesized the first two root consonants. Blw. *maqlon* reflects an earlier \*ma- + \*qolon.

<sup>12</sup>\*b > *m* is unexplained. It is possibly an analogical development with the *man-* verbal prefix.

<sup>13</sup>The forms of the Kalinga pronouns differ slightly from those appearing in Reid 1971:21. Most of the Kalinga forms in this paper were provided by C. R. Gieser and represent those dialects of Kalinga in which the \*k > *q* rule did not operate.

<sup>14</sup>See Paz 1965 for a full discussion of the function of Isi. -*ad*. Several variants of -*ad* occur, such as -*ar*, -*war* and -*wa*.

<sup>15</sup>See Gieser 1972:29.

<sup>16</sup>Since demonstratives are not discussed elsewhere in this paper, the forms will be included here. Only the basic demonstratives are given here, they may occur with various case marking particles depending on the functions they perform within the sentence.

PCC      \*tuqiy      'this, near speaker'  
           \*naqiy      'that, near hearer'  
           \*diqiy      'that, away from speaker and hearer'

The following charts give the Nominative demonstratives in the daughter languages.

Isi.	Kla.	Itg.	Bon.-Knk.
tasie ~ satie	siyána	situw†	naqay
satu	siyánat	sita	sana
sadio	siyádi	sidiy†	d†qiy

Blw.	Ifg. (Amganad)	Ifg. (Batad)
yato	túwe	hitugwoy
yaha	náye	hinugwoy
yadi	díye	hidugwoy

The addition of the final \*-qiy to the demonstrative roots is considered to be an innovation in PCC. Although lost from several of the forms it is retained in some form in most of the daughter languages, e.g., Isi. *sadio* (with loss of final \*-y), Itg. *situw†* and *sidiy†* (also with loss of final \*-y), Bon.-Knk. *naqay* and *d†qiy* (with vowel harmony). Amganad Ifugao regularly reflects \*-iy as -e, e.g., *bale* < \*baliy 'house'. Butad Ifugao reflects the same sequence as -oy, e.g., *baloy* 'house'.

The fact that Ilokano shows forms which seem to reflect this innovation (especially Ilk. *diay*, but also the -y final forms *toy* and *tay*) is problematic, since Ilokano does not on other grounds seem to group with the CC languages, and the \*-qiy final forms do not appear elsewhere in the Cordilleran languages.

Rather than reconstruct \*-qiy for Proto-Cordilleran on the basis of two witnesses (i.e., Ilokano and PCC), it would seem preferable to consider that at least *diay* and *toy* are the result of early borrowing from PCC or one of its daughter languages.

A fuller study than is possible here is necessary to account for the various phonological and semantic shifts that have taken place in the demonstratives of the various CC languages.

<sup>17</sup>The origin of \*sa is unclear. It may have been present in PCC in the form \*say (from an earlier \*sa + \*i) as the marker of a pre-predicate topicalized phrase, a function that it retains (as *hay*) in some areas of Ifugao, as well as in Inibaloi and Pangasinan, Southern Cordilleran languages. In Isinai *sa* is retained as a formative on sentence initial demonstratives, e.g., *satu*, *satie* and *sadio*.

<sup>18</sup>Donna Hettick (personal communication) states that in Kankanay this function of *di* generally occurs in embedded sentences. She provides the following additional examples from text (retaining her orthography): 1. *Ta wad-ay (kanen di an-akda)*. 'So that there will be (food for their children).' 2. *Kedeng di is am-ama ay kaseseg-ang is (binadangan di anito)*. 'That is the only old man who was pitiful whom (the spirits helped).'

3. *Dapay maid somasaa ta ket no (pinatay di bango)*. 'But he didn't return home because he was (killed by a wild pig).' The embedded sentences and their translations have here been placed in parentheses. In each instance these sentences come from underlying non-actor focus or "passive" constructions, the *di* phrase specifying a general agent.

<sup>19</sup>Scott (1966:250) discusses an archaic use of Knk. *di* as follows: "In the language of Sagada prayer texts *di* is used in a way in which it is used only rarely in colloquial speech--to introduce the object of an objective verb." This would be in my terminology the subject of a non-actor focus sentence. One other Nominative function which *di* has retained in Kankanay (and the equivalent *si* in Bontok) is the indefinite subject of some non-verbal sentences, e.g., *Naqay di madangdan* 'Here are vegetables' (as in announcing vegetables for sale), versus *Naqay nan madangdan* 'Here are the vegetables.'

<sup>20</sup>Racho (1970) does not mention whether the Oblique marker *hi* may cooccur with *nan* or any other form, but Newell (1964) lists *hinan* as a Batad Ifugao Oblique form.

<sup>21</sup>This and the following Ifugao data are from Harold C. Conklin (personal communication). The analysis is my own.



<sup>22</sup>In Pangasinan *-y* may also mark common Oblique phrases.

<sup>23</sup>These comments and the associated Ifugao data are from Harold C. Conklin (personal communication).

<sup>24</sup>Personal communication.

<sup>25</sup>Zorc notes (personal communication) that \**l̥it̥ip* is related by metathesis and *shimmer* (alternation of only one distinctive feature) to PPh \**d̥ələp* 'to dive', compare Tagalog *lirip*, Aklanon *γuróp*, Bikol *ladóp* 'to dive (into water)'.

<sup>26</sup>With unexplained \**g* > *ŋ*.

<sup>27</sup>The presence of *k* in this form as well as in the following Amganad Ifugao form where in each of these languages *q* is expected, is unexplained.

<sup>28</sup>The epenthetic *q* in this form is probably the result of a back formation from the suffixed verbal form *qanukq̃n* < \**qanukaq̃n*.

<sup>29</sup>The Kla. and Itg. forms show assimilation of the velar stop to the following alveolar stop.

<sup>30</sup>Barlig and Kadaklan are languages spoken in the barrios of the same name, located geographically between Bontoc and Balangaw. They may be referred to likewise as Eastern Bontoc.

<sup>31</sup>This form is probably a development of an earlier \**naqid* with reflexes in Kla., Itg., and Isi. However it may be that the two forms were alternants in PCC.

<sup>32</sup>An apparent cognate also appears in Kallahan (Kayapa). It is possibly a borrowing from Ifugao.

<sup>33</sup>The form *qebel* 'wet' also occurs in Kallahan (Kalanguya) and may be the result of an early borrowing.

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